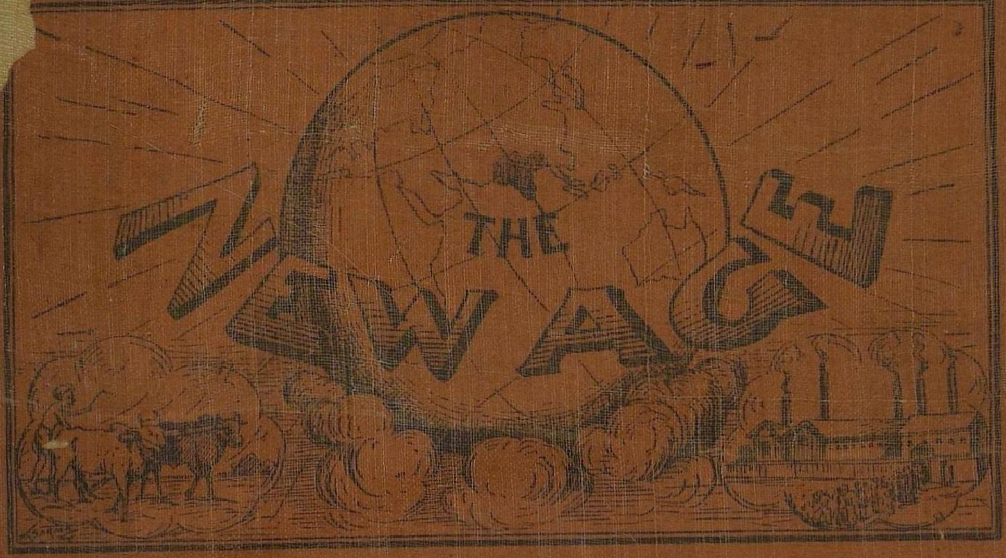

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VOL. I DECEMBER 1934 NO. 7

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3-

THE NEW AGE

VOL. I | DECEMBER 1934 | NO. 7

DEVELOPMENT OF VILLAGE AND DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES

ORGANISATION OF HAND-LOOM WEAVING

By Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.

Handloom Weaving:

Co-operative organisation of handloom weavers.

Several commissions and committees have hitherto examined the question of arresting the decline of and reorganising the handloom weaving industry. The Royal Commission on Agriculture, who entertained grave doubts whether the industry, in spite of all the help it might get, could in the long run withstand the competition of organised textile mill industry, said, that, besides provision for finance, the other modes of assistance consisted in "(1) development of new ideas such as supply of attractive patterns, (2) careful and thorough instruction in modern processes and (3) finding of markets in and outside the locality." The Commission's constructive suggestion was that such assistance would best be given to artisans *organised on a co-operative basis*, by the Industries and Co-operative departments of the Local Governments. This recommendation to organise weavers on a co-operative basis received little attention and evoked no response, for weavers' co-operative societies were not, generally speaking, found successful in the past and there was a deep prejudice against them in responsible quarters, including the Department of Co-operation. I am of opinion that this condemnation of the possibilities of co-operative handloom weaving is both hasty and unjustified. The so called failure of co-operative weaving societies in the past was mainly due to avoidable causes. There were localities in which the societies worked satisfactorily in regard to production of cloth. If they did not flourish, it was due mainly to difficulty in distribution, that is, in finding a ready sale for the products, to overcome which adequate effort was not made. Where such societies failed to function effectively even in the matter of production, it was due to defective

organisation, absence of necessary technical assistance and inadequate or unregulated finance. Where sound organisation, proper technical assistance and requisite finance and adequate marketing facilities were forthcoming, the societies did prove a success. The indebtedness of the weavers, lack of organisation among them and marketing difficulties are urged as the main obstacles to the success of the weavers' co-operative societies. It is precisely these difficulties that co-operative enterprise is intended to solve. To urge them as reasons against organising weavers on a co-operative basis is to reverse the process of thinking over the problem.

The three factors that enter into the pursuit of handloom weaving as a remunerative occupation are supply of yarn and other raw materials at a reasonable cost, and finding markets for the handloom products. Let us examine how these three factors can be created.

Supply of yarn and raw materials.

Bringing down the price level of products of the handloom, at least to that of those of the powerloom, in order to save the former from unequal competition with the latter, is the first object which must engage the attention of those who set about the organisation of handloom weaving industry. The cost of yarn and other raw materials is naturally an important factor which enters into the price of the finished product. Even if we cannot control the prices of the Indian mill yarn, we can do much to reduce its actual cost to the handloom weaver who now buys it mostly on credit from retail dealers or middlemen in the industry at uneconomical prices. It is the same case with other raw materials such as dye stuffs and chemicals. Similarly, the cost now paid for weaving appliances and machinery for dyeing and finishing, etc. may be brought down. The Department of Industries may undertake these services preferably through co-operative organisations. Under a proper system of co-operative joint purchase of raw materials and duly regulated financial aid by the State and Co-operative Banks, these modes of assistance can be effectively rendered and the cost price of the handloom products can be brought down and the margin of profit to the handloom weaver on sale of the products increased. There is of course the question whether handspinning cannot be encouraged and developed as a spare time occupation by millions of rural population who are not fully employed for several months in the year, in order to supplement the supply of mill yarn to handlooms by hand spun yarn. Mahatma Gandhi's dream is to ensure the entire supply of such yarn to handlooms through the *charka*. I understand that in Assam and Bihar some good work has been done in the promotion of handspinning and supplying the handloom with hand spun yarn.

Finance.

The financial needs of the industry are summed up under three heads; (1) Purchase of raw materials; (2) working expenses during the period of production; and (3) financial accommodation between

the period of production and final disposal of the product in a suitable market. The Government through the Departments of Industry and Co-operation, the co-operative banks and the commercial banks are the agencies which must provide the finance. I think co-operative banks must shoulder the responsibility to a larger extent than the other two agencies. But this will be possible only if the weavers are organised on a co-operative basis. We must rescue the weaver from the usurious money-lenders, the merchant middlemen who deal in raw mnterials and other clsses of intermediaries who exploit him.

Marketing.

The marketing of any commodity is dependent on its suitability for the market and its price as compared with those of its rivals in the same market. So it is with the handloom cloth. If the handloom product can be sold for about the same price as the mill cloth of the same variety and made to suit the tastes of the rural population in general, the local markets in and around the places of production will normally absorb the bulk of the products. Our primary endeavour must therefore be to cheapen the handloom cloth and make it attractive to the local consumer. I feel that undue emphasis is sometimes laid on the need to organise central depots in large cities and towns to find a sale for these products. So long as the price of mill cloth rules the market and the handloom products are not supplied in suitable designs so as to satisfy changing needs and fashions, the cities are less suited as markets for them than the villages. The mill cloth sold in the retail village shop or by the hawker and the itinerant agent of the mill cloth dealer is dearer to the rural consumer than it is to the urban consumer who purchases it directly from the city shops. So, the disparity in the prices of the mill cloth sold in the village and the handloom cloth sold locally will be less than what it would be in the city emporiums where both may be stocked together. Moreover, the average villager is less sanctimonious about colour, design and pattern and less insistent on a wide field for choice in varieties and more alive to quality, durability and utility than the average urban consumer. The interest charges on the capital invested in wholesale purchase of handloom cloth by the big urban middlemen and the rent and other incidental charges for running these central depots will add a good bit to the price of these products. The bulk of the products after all has to be ultimately brought back to the rural consumer, necessarily through another set of middlemen. Will this arrangement make these products cheaper and more economical in the long run? I think not. Thus, if we place excessive reliance on wholesale purchases by big capitalist middlemen and distribution through central depots of stocks of the handloom cloth, the profits of the intermediaries employed in the distribution of the products may more than counterbalance the savings effected in the cost of production by supply of cheaper raw materials and appliances. Moreover, is it not strange that, while the problem with the

Indian mill owner and the wholesale importer of foreign cloth is to find widespread distributive agencies to retail the goods in rural areas where 80 per cent of the Indian consumers live, the problem with the handloom weaver who produces on a small scale mainly for local consumption should be to find facilities through big urban middlemen for initial transfer of his products to central emporiums in the cities? Our primary endeavour must therefore be to encourage the local consumer in and around the places of production to prefer the handloom cloth to imported or Indian mill-made cloth of the same variety.

The problem may be different in regard to handloom products which are chiefly intended for export trade like Madras handkerchiefs and lungees or those made for city consumers and distant internal markets like the Salem silk and lace border cloths and Madura sarees. The traders in Madras and large capitalist purchasers may be of use in the case of such products. But, in the case of goods made for normal local consumption, it is more desirable to dispense, as far as possible, with capitalistic middlemen and to organise marketing through co-operative sale societies and small depots in the nearest marketing centres. In order to aid these societies and depots to establish connections with the actual consumer, central display houses in cities where samples are stocked and information is given both to producers and consumers, will be useful. In addition to technical advice about designs, patterns and economic methods of production, adventitious aids for marketing by display, advertisement and other methods must be rendered by the Departments of Industries and Co-operation, marketing boards and marketing offices to popularise the handloom products.

The subsidy that the Central Government proposes to give to the provinces would, in my opinion, be best utilised in organising co-operative weavers' societies giving direct financial assistance to them, on measures to improve the quality and bring down the price of the handloom products and in meeting the cost of display, advertisement and the services of officers who give technical advice both in regard to production and marketing.

The revival of the handloom weaving industry which still maintains millions of rural population, which can never be absorbed by the mill industry, however much it may be developed, is an economic issue of the greatest national importance.

5

A PHILOSOPHER'S OUTLOOK ON SOCIETY

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S IDEAS.

Programme for the Educated Class

The lack of adjustment between the needs of life and studies in the University has come in for a good deal of comment and criticism that it is unnecessary for me to draw your attention to it. If I tell you, young men and women, that you will have soft jobs and great careers awaiting you, now that you have acquired University degrees, I will be rousing hopes that are destined to disappointment. Unemployment is the lot of many University men the world over. There is something wrong about a system which turns out men who are not wanted by the society which has paid for their training. It is not the function of Universities to produce an academic proletariat which is fed on idleness and so develops mental flabbiness and neurasthenia. The responsibility for this state of affairs is not merely in the educational system but also in the economic situation. You are not accountable for either. But it is a healthy sign that there is a remarkable agreement among educationists to-day that the system of education requires drastic revision from the foundation to the flagpole. It is out of date and unsuited to modern conditions and involves a colossal waste of intellect and energy.

In all its stages, Primary, Secondary and University, a reorientation is necessary. While any member of the general community is entitled to the minimum of education, at any rate to the Primary standard if he is to function as a unit in a Democratic State, the large numbers who constitute the mainstay of any society, the peasants working on the soil and the skilled workers engaged in industries require to be looked after in the Secondary Schools. Secondary education is the weakest link in our system. It is dominated exclusively by the University requirements. It must provide a type of education which is complete in itself, enabling those who have benefited by it to take up a position in life. It must therefore be so organised as to give a general cultural standard to the bulk of the population and enable them, at the same time, to face the varied requirements of practical life. It must not be its exclusive aim to prepare candidates for University studies. The value of University education is considerably impaired by the presence in the University of men who are unfit for higher literary or scientific education. The technical schools should train our youths not merely for urban occupations

because the country is fundamentally rural. Agriculture is the foundation of Indian life and will continue to be so for a long time to come.

Besides teaching and research the training of leaders is an essential function of the University. To-day there is no lack of moral energy or disinterestedness but it is taking unnatural shapes on account of wrong direction. The responsibility of the intellectuals, the natural leaders of thought and life, is immense. The anxious pre-occupation of the statesmen of all countries at the present moment when competing social, economic and political views are in the field, raises questions of fundamental importance. The issues involved are vital to every interest both of the individual and of humanity. Universities which have for their function the conserving and dispensing of the best traditions of human thought and conduct are deeply affected by the great moral issues about the first principles of social organisation, which these questions raise.

Democracy and Dictatorship.

Mazzini defined democracy "as the progress of all through all under the leadership of the wisest and the best." A democracy fails if the people are not sufficiently enlightened to be able to select wise and intelligent leaders. The leaders to-day are neither wise nor intelligent. Scepticism and selfishness are their chief characteristics. They are supported by the rapacity of profiteers, the apathy of the masses, the faint-hearted servility of the intellectuals who make themselves the advocates of devastating prejudices which it should be their mission to uproot. Without any clear vision of humanity's goal, our leaders set forth programmes which they value more than the lives of their fellowmen. They will not hesitate to send millions to death to prove themselves in the right. Their own particular purposes should be achieved by any means, however barbarous or inhuman.

We are witnesses to-day of the terrible and sinister portent that some of the progressive nations of the West whose names are synonymous with advanced civilisation are embarking with cynical deliberation on a course which is in conflict not so much with the high injunctions of the religions they profess, but with the most elementary dictates of natural justice and humanity. In a large part of Europe, democracy which was for long considered the great contribution of Europe to the world's political thought is now abandoned. Parliamentary government is killed, the press is muzzled, freedom of thought, of speech and of assembly is forbidden. The ordinary decencies of public life, the conventions which raise human society above a pack of animals, the bonds of personal loyalty and friendship, are being swept away by groups who neither respect laws nor recognise the common obligations of humanity. The zeal of the dictators shrinks at nothing, not even carefully planned and cold-blooded murders of political opponents.

The obvious incompetence of governments to deal in a just and

effective way with the problem of economic inequality is the cause of the discontent with democracy and this discontent has carried dictators to power. Unimpeded freedom of trade resulted in the exploitation of man by his fellows. The demand for greater economic equality was resented by the vested interests and class conflicts developed. Regulation of private industry on a large scale was undertaken by the governments but not as rapidly as one would desire. Economic effort was therefore put under political direction. Peaceful evolution which is the method of democracy yielded to forcible revolution.

Compulsion thus became the controlling principle of social, economic and political life. If there is a restriction of personal liberty and a denial of opportunities for a full, satisfying and noble life, it only means that economic justice and security ask for their price. The price has been paid in many countries but they are not nearer the goal. The new slavery for mankind has not resulted in economic justice and security.

Militarism

Selfish and suspicious units which constitute the present politically and economically unorganised world have raised tariff walls, which naturally increase personal rivalries and bitterness. It is a state of constant and continuous economic struggle. Those who believe in force for their internal affairs have no hesitation in adopting it in their foreign relations. Militarism is now in the ascendant. Might is to-day more right than ever. Our dictators are all sabre-rattlers and scaremongers. They tax the sweat and blood of innocent people in order to maintain armaments. Nations are fed on a diet of blood and iron. Italy is busy turning a people into an army. The boys of Italy are to be prepared "spiritually, physically and militarily" for the profession of arms. Germany and Austria, Russia and France, even Great Britain, are filing up preparations for war, while their governments declare that they desire peace.

The powers of darkness are gathering in every direction. The nations of Europe are drifting towards war with all its incalculable horrors.

When the next war breaks out, we will have a relapse into barbarism, if not the collapse of civilisation. The world calls itself civilised. Though it has accomplished a good deal in science and organisation through literature and philosophy, religion and art have been going on for centuries, we find ourselves to-day as helpless and untutored children in the presence of conditions which, if not dealt with and remendied, will bring this civilisation to an end.

There can be no social stability without social justice. Democracy is not only political but economic also. Workers must be liberated from grinding toil, poverty and misery so that they may have opportunities for self-development and self-expression. We are certainly more sensitive to the suffering of starving millions and so

have developed many phoilanthrpic institutions, sometimes under communal auspices, such as orphanages, free boarding for the destitute, hospitals for the sick and the suffering, and maternity homes for deserving maidens. All this is excellent so far as it goes, but it is only dealing with the symptoms, not attacking the disease. If mankind cannot achieve something more satisfactory than the present order, our homes and hospitals only prolong our agony and it is better we starve and stop maternity.

Democratic States, if they are truly representative of the general will, are required to control the productive effort of individuals. The control of natural and economic resources cannot be left to the free play of individual competition. Even private enterprise clamours for State aid to prevent it from collapse. There is not therefore in our century much real opposition to the extension of the public ownership of monopolies except from vested interests. No society can exist without a large measure of social co-operation and control.

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COMMUNALISM IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

By
E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad

It is the fashion for bourgeoisie nationalist democratic politicians to decry everything smacking of communalism and extol nationalism to the skies. The label of commnunalist is enough, in their eyes, to damn anybody. As if nationalism, by itself, regardless of the peculiar conditions in a given country, is a virtue to be adored.

But a closer and more scientific analysis will clearly show that communalism also can be a progressive factor under certain circumstances. Just as nationalism in a subject country like India is a revolutionary force while the same nationalism in a free country like Germany is a reactionary force, communalism will play a progressive role under certain conditions while it is impossible to distinguish it from political and religious reaction in most cases. It is the task of the sociologist and the historian to examine each communal organisation on its merits and decide what role it plays. If this is not done and if a sweeping condemnation of all communal organisations and their leaders is made, it will be like condemning in the same breath the imperialist wars of the great powers and the anti-imperialist struggle of subject nations on the ground of pacifism.

If you examine the communal organisations throughout India, you will find that they fall under two distinct groups. The back-grounds of communalism in the two cases are quite different. In the one, it is the legitimate fear of oppression from the majority community which has led to the formation and causes the maintenance of communal organisation. There is the undisputable fact that there are a number of communities which have been for long oppressed by the ruling classes and the majority communities have taken a good share in that oppression. The fear of oppression from the majority community is therefore legitimate and understandable, although we cannot subscribe to their view that communal organisations and their political agitation are the proper remedy for it. Anyhow, it is plain that this group of communal organisations are not in identical position with those others of which the background is political reaction. One cannot be too strongly critical of those communalist leaders who inflame the feelings of their own communities to check the rising tide of the mass movement. Most of those who plead for their communities and shed crocodile tears over the sufferings of the poor illiterate members of their communities are themselves the oppressors of the masses, including their own community. It is to keep their power and prestige intact and to fatten their purses that they raise the communal bogey. Hence resistance to them is essential to the good of the masses.

It is a folly to consider these two kinds of communalism as identical and suggest the same remedy to both. Communalism of the first sort must be treated with sympathy and tact while the latter must be fought to the finish. The greatest error that the worshippers of nationalism has done is to treat both equally, thereby causing the minority communites to ally themselves with political reaction. It was by reason of this that political reaction under the garb of communalism was strengthened and nationalism, sometimes triumphant over Imperialism, had always to bow before communalism of the worst type. The history of Pacts and conferences, demands and counter-demands, negotiations and arbitrations, awards and anti-award agitations is a sorry tale of how nationalism has failed to tackle the problem. Nationalism which rejected the fourteen demands of the Muslims had to eat its own humble pie by 'neither accepting not rejecting' the worst of them all-separate Electorates after acceding to all the rest!

But what is the remedy? To face the fact boldly of the existence of communalism and to shield it from the onslaught of political reaction. Recognise the fact that the interests of the masses, even in the respective communites, are not a bit safeguarded by the communal leaders. Isolate them from the venom of the bourgeoisie communalist leaders by not grudging the legitimate demands of the masses in these minority communities. Make the masses in any community feel that their interests are safer in your hands than in the hands of their so-called leaders. In other words, carry the class war into the forts of communal organisations. That will create a split within the respective communities on an economic basis and will form the last remedy for the ills India is suffering from caste and creed.

Thus we have seen that, if the legitimate rights of the masses as against the classes is the basis of our work, even the communal squabbles can be given a progressive turn. But I cannot close this without referring to the fact that, in Kerala at least, some communal organisations have played not only a progressive, but a definitely revolutionary role. The communal organisations of Thiyyas in Travancore and Cochin have had a very large share in breaking the power of the priest-hood. Theirs was an onslaught not only on the priesthood but on the very roots of religion and established order. They have indisputably held aloft the banner of reason and science and, although, in the words of the vested interests, they were fighting for the loaves and fishes of office, they never let down the masses. This has led their opponents to declare ironically that they are 'communists and communalists—a curious combination.' If a critical examination is made of communal organisations throughout India, I am sure this will not be the solitary instance, because, wherever the discontented intellectual youth or the peasants and workers dominate the communal organisations, these are bound to be revolutionary. Not to recognise this fact is to misread the objective situation in the country.

THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By

A. G. Venkatachary.

Delivering the Convocation Address of the Annamalai University recently Mr. R. V. Krishna Iyer made a powerful plea for the utilisation of thousands of the intelligent unemployed to liquidate mass illiteracy. The suggestion is timely and highly practical, but unfortunately we have at the helm of affairs men with little sympathy towards the aspirations of the masses and callous and hard-hearted to the core. They do not realise that it is their paramount duty to put these young men to do some useful work to society and also enable them to keep away the wolf from the door. Every year about eight thousand graduates, and more than twenty thousand undergraduates and secondary school certificate holders have to face the first major crisis in their lives. The brightest young intellects of their school generation—they have acquired a liberal culture and many of them are proficient in a wide range of subjects from the classical to the utilitarian have to face this issue.

From ten to fifteen years they had been engaged in arduous work, keeping awake till the small hours—especially when examinations were close, and have done so with the supreme confidence that it was worth the while and that their ability and attainments would be given full scope. Most of these come from the poor middle classes and the last four or five years of their studies are a period of intense sacrifice on the part of their parents, resulting often, in their self-denial of necessities and elementary comforts, in order that the children should have their opportunities. Most of their lands have been mortgaged or are in perennial fear of foreclosures. Their economic position was five years ago possibly more assured, but now they are facing a grim battle against the rising tide of unforeseen adverse circumstances. Government jobs whose lower grade salaries are the most scandalous in the world, are filled no doubt, at least in the Presidency of Madras, through a Public Services Commission whose supposed policy of 'Communal justice' has in practice resulted in a gross differentiation in human values. This has resulted practically in placing a premium upon inefficiency: but of that we are not much concerned. Till recently the Government scale of pay per mensem in these lower cadres, was 35-1½-(Annual)-50-1-60-4-80. But, the new scale recently enforced is 30-2-(biennial)-60, so that if in spite of these restrictions one enters the service and is able to show a clean record of continued adaptation of the changing bosses, he can, if his sorry plight had not already killed him, hope to retire on a pension of Rs. 30, which often he could not, due to

the strain involved in the course of his long Service coupled with the grossest lack of nutrition. The railways and other big commercial concerns are much worse. The urge of hunger is so severe and shocking that in the near future, there seems to be little chance of this class earning enough to lead a civilised living. The mere cry of 'back to the villages' without any serious plan of utilising their services in return for a fair recompense is a mere shibboleth. They have work enough in the villages, but an alien Government conscious of the support it derives from the master class in this country experiences little difficulty in continuing a policy of drift. That the educated middle-class is not guilty of aversion to industrial employment (an excuse once speciously trotted out) is apparent from the fact that in the face of mass unemployment roughly estimated at 40,000,000, even the few hundreds of young technicians are at a loss to get jobs, even low-paid.

Technical studies mean further long years of study, and an unbearable drain on the family purse and at the end only leads to hopelessly overcrowded professions, and meagre livelihood for the many. Brilliant young doctors get neither patients nor fees, able young advocates wait for the briefs that never come and skilled engineers not wanted even to draw the plans of a cottage.

The industrial expansion of the country based on a planned exploitation of its natural resources including large-scale collective and co-operative farming alone can solve this stupendous problem. But India is the imperial milchcow and most certainly the profit motive has practically shelved all considerations of the human element. This utter apathy on the part of the state and the people has tended of late to put into young heads of the unemployed the inevitable impression that they are bound to be sorely neglected as long as society is maintained on a snatch-and-grab basis.

First class honours are secured by the nonchalance of youth backed by the rugged determination of parents to sacrifice everything to provide their sons' education in the pious hope that it would enable them to lead worthier lives than they do. But alas, hard facts and economic realities step in and baffle even this most elementary ambition. When they realise that after long years of arduous preparation there is nobody wanting to employ them or almost no prospect of a job, it must indeed be bitter to think that they have "no obvious function in the community." The macabre figure of Tomorrow obtrudes even on the young enthusiast intoxicated with the heady wine of a passionate love for study and play.

The State must remember that it has its obligations to these youngsters, the guardians of the future upon whose training, equipment and utility the future depends.

Dr. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, in an address delivered to the Oxford graduates some time back said; "No one can learn anything worth learning if he has no hope and no interest in

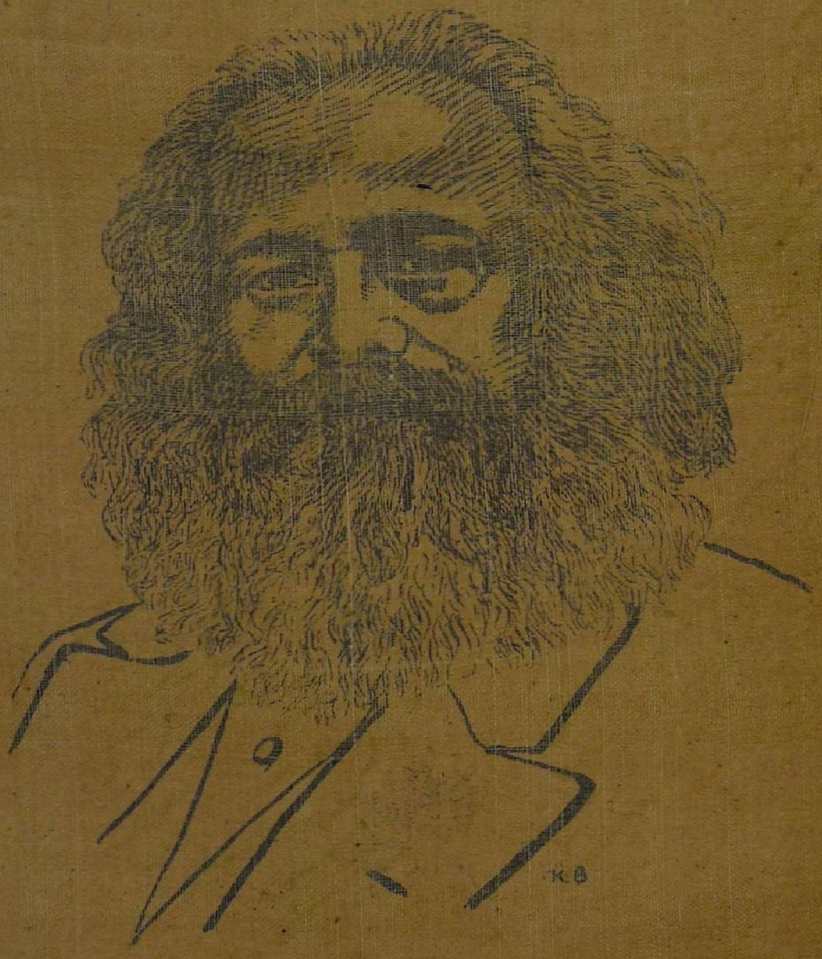
life." Is it not the prime duty of a state which is supposed to exist for the common weal; to provide both that hope and interest? Times without number we see headline stories in newspapers of the many suicides of youths unemployed who take to it as a last resort, when they become disillusioned and desperate, grown prematurely cynical bored with the useless life they are forced to lead and robbed of all incentives and ambitions which, in every civilised society, are considered to be the heritage of youth. Social equity demands that those opportunities which should be theirs must not be denied to them under any circumstance. But there can be no social equity under Capitalism. So the educated Indian youth of to-day stands robbed of his opportunities and condemned to hopeless drift partly through the unwillingness and partly through the incompetence of those at the helm of our affairs. Thus, the natural impulse of youth to develop its own personality by pursuing new and newer paths becomes but pious aspiration. Their insistent cry must no doubt be answered, but it will not be unless youth is able to unite into a dynamic orgainsation, and demand the adoption of a clear-cut programme, vigorous in conception and courageous in endeavour suited to meet the present situation, and also designed with an eye on the future. It must not be slow in developing the indispensable sanctions to enforce the acceptance of its demands. Then, it shall be heard. Youth has energy and infinite courage. It must surely be able to find its way. But a word of caution seems to be necessary. In its impetuous zeal to obtain speedy results let it not play into the hands of reaction and pave the way for its own self-destruction. No doubt it cannot passively acquiesce in the hopeless attitude of society towards it; but it should not fall a prey to the seemingly plausible appeal of Fascist opportunists, the Zamindars, money-lenders, feudal Princes and allied vested interests—all tools of Imperialism and Capitalism and be enthused into working for their advancement in their possible endeavour to subject the masses to further slavery. We have bitter lessons to learn from recent German and Austrian history. Let us sow the seeds of a powerful movement, nation-wide in its scope and appeal with the grim and resolute determination to rebuild society on an equitable basis. Let us remember that suffering and starvation are created by money-power. Let the youth of the land face it honestly and courageously, and work for the establishment of a juster social order. In this we may wholeheartedly co-operate with all progressive elements engaged in a similar struggle and evolve a scheme of national ecomic planning that would eliminate waste, absurdities and exploitations. Let youth do its part.

LIFE OF KARL MARX

"DAS KAPITAL" AND THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

The first few years of Marx's London life were devoted to the summing up of the lessons of the extraordinary events of the years 1848-57. The second revolution in France, its collapse and the return of the monarchy, the failure of the German revolution and the false tactics of the socialists were analysed with remarkable insight in a series of articles and pamphlets, which were written, sometimes in collaboration with Engels.

The collected works of Marx in this period are valuable, and almost indispensable, volumes for study by any one who seeks to understand the Marxian approach to history. The motives of the



KARL MARX.

various classes involved in the struggles of the period, the economic reasons both for the breaking out of the revolutions and for their collapse, the significance historically of these events, considered as links in the chain of human evolution, were all explained with a clearness and cogency, which no other contemporary historian of the period has shown. And the secret of Marx's successful interpretation of the bewildering and exciting events lay in this: he was in possession of a technique of study and method of approach to such historical events, which unerringly led him to their true nature. The writings of this period have been collected and published in three volumes, which as has been said are remarkable examples of the Marxist method in practice. These three works are : Class struggles in France, the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.

But apart from writing, the most important task which faced Marx during the first years of reaction was the consolidation of the communist party on the basis of a correct understanding of the immediate tasks of the working class. In this work, however he met with opposition in the Communist League. Criticizing this opposition group, Marx wrote : The minority substitutes dogmatic views for critical views, idealist views for materialist views. While we say to the workers : 'you must live through 15, 20, 50 years of civil and national wars, not only in order to change the social relations but also to make yourself fit for political rule', you, (the opposition) on the contrary say : We must assume power at once, otherwise we may as well go to sleep ! While we particularly point out to the German workers that the German proletriat is as yet undeveloped, you grossly flatter the national sentiments and caste prejudices of the German artisans, which of course, is a more popular thing. Like the democrats, you substitute revolutionary phrases for revolutionary development."

For over a decade from 1857 to 1862 Marx was writing letters to the New York Tribune, mainly on international questions. Among these letters is a series of three letters on India. In a subsequent issue we shall deal with these letters at length. But it will suffice to mention here that these letters, written a few years before the great conflagration of 1857—when the Indian feudal lords made the last joint, desperate attempt to drive the British from India—these letters written then exhibit a wonderful grasp of the fundamental characteristics of Indian development under British rule and the problems that would arise in consequence.

It was during these years that Marx was labouring to produce his great work "Das Kapital"—which has played a more striking and devastating role in history than any other book. It was to provide the scientific basis for the categorical appeal in the Communist Manifesto issued nearly 20 years earlier. In "Capital"—the first volume of which appeared in 1867, Marx made a detailed analysis of the

economics of capitalism and discovered the fundamental laws of the origin, development and the ultimate doom of this system. It has been asserted by some, including many venerable socialists, that "Capital" is the Bible of the communists, that superstitious allegiance is still paid by the latter to the views elaborated in "Capital," though such views, according to them, have been exploded by the actual development of capitalism in a direction never anticipated by Marx. This is not the place to examine in detail the validity of this criticism. Here we shall be content with stating what, in the opinion of Marxists, is the content and value of this indisputably great work.

Marx set about exploring the nature of capitalism, as it was necessary to study this before, the correct methods to be employed in the struggle against capitalism could be outlined. After his intense study for over 15 years of all the conceivable literature on the working of capitalist economy, Marx formulated, for the first time in the history of economic science, all the principal and fundamental problems of political economy; value; what determines it; money; how the workers are exploited by the capitalists; what are profits, interest and rent; how are wages determined; why and how crises arise; the future of capitalism. Bourgeois economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo could not rise to the scientific heights of Marx, because, being the exponents and upholders of capitalist economy, they could not pronounce its own death sentence. But Marx could and he did it in a way, that his very name has become a nightmare to the bourgeoisie.

After describing the tendency in capitalisim, for capital to become more and more centralised in the hands of a few, Marx envisioned the future of capitalism in these prophetic words. "Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour-process, the conscious technical application of science the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labour, entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery:—oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and sociali-

zation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Introduciug Marx's 'Capital" to the German workers, Engels wrote -

"No book published since capitalists and workers have existed is of such importance to the workers as this one.

"The relationship between capital and labour, the axis around which the entire system of our present day society revolves, is here developed for the first time in scientific form, and, moreover, with profundity and exactitude.......Sharply as Marx emphasizes the bad sides of capitalist production, he proves just as clearly that this social form was essential for the purpose of developing the productive forces of society to the heights where equal development worthy of man would be possible for *all* members of society. All previous forms of society were too poor for this. Only with the capitalist method of production are the wealth and productive forces required for this created, but at the same time, it creates a social class viz., the mass of the oppressed workers, which is compelled more and more to take into its own hands the control of this wealth and these productive forces for the benefit of the whole of society instead of allowing them to be used, as they are now, for the benefit of a monopolist class."

It has been frequently urged that it is ridiculous to say that the science of economics means one thing for the working class and another thing for the bourgeoisie, yet all those who have carefully gone through the pronouncements of various economists regarding the way out of the present economic depression can easily see that the divergence between the views of an economist like Mr. J. M. Keynes and those of a socialist like G. D. H. Cole or the Soviet economists is not merely a divergence based on simply *different ways* of looking at one and the same problem. It is something deeper than that. These two sets of economists are in fact, the theoritical exponents of the interests and demands of two different and opposing classes. While Mr. Keynes is desperately evolving a formula which can save capitalism from its impending doom, the socialist economists are bent upon showing that the only way out of capitalist crises such as the present one, is the destruction of the capitalist system. Because Mr. Keynes and others of his ilk are interested in the survival of capitalism, they refuse to believe that crises, depressions, unemployment, periodical fits of economic insanity exemplified in such monstrosities as destruction of wheat, etc. with a view to producing artificial scarcity and thus raising prices—that all these are inherent in the nature of capitalism. Nothing more clearly demonstrates the class character of almost all the works of

prominent academic economists of to-day than their pitiful impotence in explaining the true nature of the present economic depression. They hunt after such silly explanations like 'Maldistribution of Gold,' 'Disequilibrium between agriculture and industry,' and so on infinite other shibboleths, all the while missing (most probably with all deliberateness) the essential fact that the present crisis is only a link in the chain of crises which began soon after capitalism began, and that it has been most severe because it has come later than all other crises and because all the accumulated contradictions of capitalism have reached their apogee. It is now becoming increasingly clear that the survival of capitalism (in reality, the last, lingering years of its existence) is not due to its economic vitality but to its political power. It is by resorting to open and brutal methods of suppression of the working class (as typified by Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, etc.) that the capitalist regime is securing a fresh lease of life.

Yet, there are people who would refuse to admit that economics is not independent of the class structure of society. Surely, none are so behind as those who would not see!

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12

A FEW PEASANT PROBLEMS

APPALLING RURAL INDEBTEDNESS.

By Scrutator.

Need for immediate attention.

A pre-depression estimate of India's agricultural indebtedness placed the figure at Rs. 9,000,000,000. The share of Madras was a staggering figure—no less than Rs. 1,200,000,000 according to the Report of the Banking Enquiry Committee. Most of the debts must have had a long and tragic story behind them of ruthless exploitation, a sordid tale of falsified accounts, incorrect and misleading accounting, the grossest exploitation of peasant illiteracy, unimaginable rates of interest of a peculiarly complex and compound nature added on to the principal more than two or three times a year and charged with a heavier and penal interest. It was apparent even in the days of the post-war boom that it was with the greatest difficulty that the peasant could meet the exorbitant revenue demands of the state to pamper a top-heavy administrative system, out of all proportions to the appalling poverty of the country. What was left over was hardly sufficient to meet the interest demands of the village sowcar, who held the peasants in the hollow of his hands and whose little frown meant foreclosure of lands and the consequent loss of his ostensible means of living. It used and continues to be the practice of the sowcars in many parts of South India to compulsorily take the produce of the peasant even from the farm-yard and adjust it towards his dues, the prices being arbitrarily fixed by him (far below the market price it goes without saying.) The peasant could not refuse as after meeting the land revenue and the interest charges what was generally left behind was only enough to keep him going just for a month or two, and even in fat years it was the Sowcar who had to meet his demands as and when necessary during the rest of the year. Further the post-war boom and the fair prospect of its continuity prompted a very large percentage of peasants to borrow heavily not only from money-lenders but from Co-operative Societies wherever they were available, for effecting permanent improvements on their land, in the hope that such improvement would help them in liquidating their debts within a few years. They could hardly be blamed for this. The permanent improvements generally took the form of irrigation wells and better and more cattle. But no sooner had they done so than they were face to face with the sudden and horrible fall of prices of farm produce, in some cases even down to 200 per cent. The general fall in prices has been estimated at 60 per cent and the farmers suddenly seized with such

a catastrophe could find hardly enough to meet the land revenue. The very niggardly remission granted afforded no relief to the hard-hit peasant. So, the question of payment of interest not to speak of the principal either to individual money-lenders or to the co-operative societies was indeed hard to think of. In the very first year of the Depression, the money-lenders anxious to hold their own have behaved most heartlessly and in many cases foreclosures have been effected and in many more, the peasant forced to execute fresh mortgage deeds for a considerably bigger sum than the original due to the addition of interest to it. Even the co-operative societies behaved no better. There were limitless resources at their disposal, and fresh money was pouring in at less than one per cent. They could very well have liquidated all the debts of the peasants only if there had been a co-ordinated endeavour in that respect. Not only was no relief afforded, but those at the helm of the affairs are bringing pressure to bear upon the peasants to pay up their dues, come what may. But the peasant simply can't pay and is on the verge of desperation. Measured in terms of commodities the peasant-debts have now shot up to an unimaginably huge figure and apparently there is no chance of their redemption if the *status quo* were to continue. In the Central Provinces, the Punjab and the United Provinces, Rural Indebtedness Bills are on the anvil providing for conditional arbitration. The Punjab Bill recently passed, also circumscribes the rates of interest on secured and unsecured loans, at a figure appreciably above the bank rates. In the United Provinces, the principle of *Damdupat*, i.e., not allowing interest to accrue to a figure higher than the principal has been embodied in the Encumbered Estates Bill now under discussion. In the Central Provinces the Agriculturists' Relief Act has been in force for some time and is claimed to have given some relief to the farmers. But a fact has to be remembered that all these measures have evoked the sturdiest opposition from urban interests generally representing the merchant and money-lending classes in the Punjab and the Zamindari group in the United Provinces. These very simple and extremely conservative measures have been styled by vested interests as revolutionary or confiscatory legislation.

The passage of the Punjab Indebtedness Relief Bill has driven money-lending and trading interests into a white heat of frenzy. The Traders Association of the Punjab have set afoot a campaign of vile retaliation. They are advocating that in the future no money should be lent to any agriculturist, especially at the time of land revenue recoveries. To prevent co-operative societies from coming to their rescue and thus bring indirect pressure to bear upon the government, they are contemplating withdrawal of their deposits from the co-operative banks. This prospect they hope, might force the Governor to withhold his assent to the measure. That the vested interests have no genuine nationalism, no scruple or principle and

believe that anything is good enough that fills their pockets is apparent from the bait they hold out to the local representative of pax Brittanica, that traders should give preferences only for British goods. It is hoped that the progressive satrap of the Punjab would not be cajoled into withholding his assent by the threatening bombasts of the monied few.

In the province of Madras, the peasants are caught inextricably in the stranglehold of money power much more than elsewhere and so far there has been no serious effort at least to provide them relief measures obtaining in other provinces. The Money-lenders' Bill recently passed is an Act of shameless lack of imagination and calculated to hoodwink the peasantry into thinking that their interests are not ignored by the present powers-that-be. It is notorious that the clause fixing rates of interest was practically shelved and the original provisions regarding proper maintenance of accounts for all practical purposes discarded, merely to placate the money-lenders whose patron the Justice Party is. The Zamindars, many Presidents of Local Boards and other influential members of the Party hold in their titanic grip the peasantry of this Province. The land-mortgage banks started here and there in a haphazard fashion can be of no great use to the peasantry all over the Province. The questions need immediate and careful attention. It is highly necessary, if the peasant should at all be expected to be able to repay the loans granted to him, to scale down the amount in accordance with fall in prices and liquidate them through State Agencies. A Farm Relief Board as in the U.S.A. should be started and a supreme effort made to do away with private money-lending altogether. It may cause some temporary inconvenience, but it is not insurmountable. A planned scheme of debt liquidation with a guarantee to the peasant, against all foreclosures is absolutely indispensable.

The alien bureaucracy in India, whose fate is inextricably intertwisted with those of vested interests in this country could hardly be expected to come forward with bold measures of relief for the emancipation of the peasantry. The Zamindars are again there and are prepared even to sacrifice the cause of the country if only they are allowed immunity in their dealings with the tenants. The New Constitution also doet not augur well for the masses. It is a class scheme, and the masses are nowhere in the picture. The Indian National Congress, in whom the electorate to the Assembly have Expressed their great confidence should take up their question betimes. If their claim to represent the masses is not a mere pretence, its foremost leaders must exert the weight of their influence and brushing aside the possible revolt of vested interests from within must tackle this problem at once. There are two ways to attack this question. The limited scope offered by the Legislative Assembly must be utilised for the enactment of an All-India Bill to relieve the peasantry from Chronic indebtedness. At the same time it is imperative that the Congress should carry on intensive propaganda in the

villages and organise the peasants into a really dynamic organisation, not only for the immediate redress of their own grievances, but to rally them right into the vortex of the next struggle for national independence.

The Indian peasant is a victim of Fatalism, of natural forces and hence inevitably superstitious. His state of subjection to the money-lender makes him feel helpless in times like these, and he derives solace from and attributes his sorry plight, hunger, cold and affliction to his own unfortunate fate.

In the words of Edwin Markham, he is:

"A thing that grieves not and
that never hopes,
Stunted and stunned, a brother
to the Ox."

So, the Congress as the organisation of the masses, as it claims to be, has a moral duty to discharge by the peasant. Even as it has championed the cause of the depressed classes and oppressed communities, it is their duty to emancipate them from the sloth, stupour and sordidness he is engrossed in and for which society and not he is responsible.

G.S.

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G.S.

WHEN TWO 'HEADS' MEET

RE-ORIENTATION TO BE COMPLETE

REPORT OF A CONFIDENTIAL INTERVIEW

By Our Political Eavesdropper.

It was a glorious sunny day. The sky was clear and bright. The sun shone with its characteristic Madras heat. Though His Excellency Lord Erskine was not acclimatised to such heat, the arrangements made in his chambers to prevent the effective intrusion of the sun's rays were thorough and he had no need to take out his handkerchief very often to wipe out the perspiration.

His Excellency was seated in a cushion chair and presently the chaprasi announced the Private Secretary to His Excellency. He was asked to be let in at once.

"Good morning, Your Excellency" said Mr. Crombie.

"Good morning," replied His Excellency.

"According to our previous engagement, Mr. C. Rajagopalachary, generally called C. R., the President of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee has come to interview Your Excellency."

"Well, let him come in."

Sjt. C.R, with a few hairs waving in the unruly breeze from the Bay of Bengal, a pair of famous smoky blue glasses, clad in spotless white dhoties, with a big Khadi shawl on him, stepped in, both his hands folded.

"*Namaskaram*, Your Excellency."

There was a momentary but intense agitation in the mind of His Excellency, who unconsciously rose up from the chair but resumed it again. He did not know what he should say in reply, but looked at Mr. Crombie who whispered to him that it was an Indian form of salutation.

"Good morning, Mr. C. R, Will you kindly sit?"

"Thanks, Your Excellency," said C. R. "I hope Madras and its climate suit you well. Please give my respectful compliments to Lady Erskine."

"Of course, of course," said His Excellency and continued. "I must congratulate you on your efficient and successful campaign in connection with the recent Assembly elections and the splendid victory of the Congress candidates. I have been particularly glad to note that the Congress has given up its barren policy of hostile, unlawful opposition and has adopted constructive plans for constitutional collaboration and mutual help. The benevolent British Government has

offered new opportunities for Indians so that they can prove their efficiency by working the reformed constitution that will be introduced shortly. What is your opinion on the J. P. C. report?"

"Your Excellency will excuse me if I refrain from saying anything definite about it now, as we are all meeting at Patna on 5th December to consider the report. No doubt Your Excellency has a claim to demand my opinion about the same; but that can be only personal and not of the Congress as a whole.',

"Yes, yes, that is what I want. It is enough if you tell me about your personal views. I know that the Congress view will be more or less yours as you are the keeper of another great Indian's conscience and his word in the congress circles will be effective. If I know your view, I can guess fairly what the congress view will be."

"Your Excellency is paying me undue compliments. I do not know how far you can rely on me," said C. R.

"No, No. I am informed correctly on these matters and I have no reason to believe otherwise. You cannot deny that J.P.C. report has offered you some opportunities which it will be suicidal for anyone to reject. Should not the congressmen prove to be great statesmen and constructive politicians?"

"Yes, your Excellency is correct. In fact, great transformation has come over us and you will find us turning from *pucca* no-changers to active co-operators. The new orientation of Policy for which my two esteemed colleagues of whom one is now dead were clamouring for, has been adopted and I believe the logical conclusion of it will be to work the coming reforms. But I am not in a position to say anything definite now."

"I understand your position. I believe the congress has a fair chance in the coming Provincial elections also and you will have to consider the position from now. Supposing you come out in a majority, is it not absurd to remain in the council without accepting office. When you accept office you will have chances to work *in the interest of both of us.*"

"That is true Your Excellency, but our programme was the rejection of the White Paper. How can we take up a different attitude?"

"Rejection of the White Paper does not mean the rejection of the J. P. C. Report. The reformed constitution will be introduced at any cost and you will have a chance which you cannot lose. Therefore I bleieve you will frame your policy in such a way as to make the best use of what has been offered to you."

"I understand your Excellency."

"Why did you not seek election to the Assembly?"

"I have done enough all-India service. I should like to concentrate upon my own Province in order to do some service to my fellow countrymen. As things are shaping themselves, I believe, as your Excellency says, the time is fast approaching for me to do useful service in the province.

In the mean while I shall be content with doing work from behind"

"What about the radicals in the Congress ?"

"That is no problem in this province. First of all there are no radicals. And even if there are a few, they are ineffective. I can assure Your Excellency that the problems that confront Bombay and Bengal will never face Your Excellency here and as Your Excellency has said, this province has been animated with much of Political sanity. Your Excellency need not worry on that score."

I saw His Excellency throwing a benevolent smile at C.R. I could just see the blue glasses mounting up the forehead of our revered leader, which denoted that he was going to look into some paper His Excellency had given. Further conversation was thereafter carried on in inaudible whispers and I had to sneak away before anyone could detect me and give me a polite push.

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THE J. P. C. REPORT

WEIGHTY WORDS WITH EMPTY MEANINGS

Diplomatic Overtures: Deceiving Concessions.

[The following is the gist of the Joint Parliamentary committee report which was recently published. It alleges to confer responsibility in the provincial sphere and to transfer some person to the contemplated federal legislature. It is universally condemned by Indian opinion and rejected by the Congress. It reminds us of the old story of the chaff and the grain].

Motto.—"The time has come for Parliament to share its power with those whom for generations, it has sought to train in the arts of Government; and **whatever may be the measure of the power** thus to be transferred, we are confident that Parliament in consonance with its own dignity and with the traditions of the British people, will make the transfer generously and in no grudging spirit.

Provincial Autonomy

"It is one whereby each of the Governor's provinces will possess an Executive and a Legislature having exclusive authority within the Province in a precisely defined sphere and in that exclusively provincial sphere, broadly free from control by the Central Government and Legislature."

What is given

A Governor representing His Majesty appointed by the British Government, who is the Executive Head of the Province.

The act will commit certain matters to the Governor's sole discretion, such, for instance, as his power of veto over legislation and the regulation of matters relating to the administration of excluded areas. It will also contain a declaration that certain special responsibilities are to rest upon the Governor.

The Governor's special responsibilities

(a) The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof (b) The safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities (c) The securing to the members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the constitution and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests; (d) The prevention of commercial discrimination (e) The protection of the rights of any Indian State (f) The administration of areas declared in accordance with provisions in that behalf, to be partially excluded areas (g) securing the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General.

The Governor shall select his ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command the largest following in the Legislature and to appoint those persons including so far as possible members of important minority communities who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature.

If the Governor should be of

opinion that the action or inaction of the Ministers is jeopardising the peace or tranquillity of the Province, it will be his duty to take action to meet the situation. If the situation is one requiring immediate action, he can issue any executive order which he may consider necessary. If the situation is one which cannot be dealt with by an isolated executive order—if the Minister in charge of the department appears unable to administer his charge on lines which the Governor regards consistent with the due discharge of his special responsibility—the Governor can dismiss and replace the minister or if necessary, the ministers as a body with or without resort to a dissolution of the Legislature. If he fails to find an alternative Government capable of **administering Law and order on lines consistent with the discharge of his special responsibility**, he will be obliged to declare a breakdown of the constitution, and to assume himself all such powers as he judges requisite to retrieve the situation.

We now turn to our own further recommendation for the specific protection of the Police force itself. Our aim is to ensure that the internal organisation and discipline of the Police continue to be regulated by the Inspector General and to protect both him and the ministers themselves from political pressure in this vital field. We recommend that the instrument of instructions of the Governors should specifically require them to give directions that no records relating to intelligence affecting terrorism should be disclosed to anyone other than such persons within the Provincial police force as the Inspector General may direct or such other public officers outside that force as the Governor may direct.

We recommend that the constitution act should specifically empower the Governor, at his discretion if he regards the peace and tranquillity of the Province as endangered by the activities overt or secret of persons committing, or conspiring to commit crimes of violence intended to overthrow the Government and if he considers that the situation cannot be effectively handled to assume charge to such extent as he may judge requisite, of any branch of the Government which he thinks it necessary to create new machinery for the purpose. He should be further authorised to appoint an official as a temporary member of the Legislature to act as his mouth-piece in that body and any official so appointed should have the same powers and rights other than the right to vote as an elected member.

We recommend that it shall be specifically laid down in the Constitution Act that the rules of business shall contain a provision laying upon ministers the duty of bringing to the notice of the Governor any matter under consideration in their departments which involves or is likely to involve any of his special responsibilities, and requiring Secretaries to Government to bring to the notice of the minister and of the Governor any matters of the same kind.

The Governor should have at his disposal an adequate personal

and secretarial staff of his own and at the head of this staff a capable and experienced officer of high standing, fully conversant with the current affairs of the Province and in close contact with the administration. (The members of the civil service are eligible to be appointed as Governors).

The Governors will have power to enact acts on their own responsibility called Governor's Acts and to appropriate the necessary finances even if it was refused by the Legislature. The only way in strengthening the Provincial Executives in India is to confer adequate discretionary powers on the Governor. The existence of an efficient and constituted civil service immune from political interference and free from political partialities, is the indispensable condition, not only for the effective exercise of the Governor's special powers, but also for the strength of the Executive as a whole. Like the power of dissolution, the Governor should have power to suspend the legislature and administer the province without it. This power and the Governor's reserve powers, may prove the most effective guarantee for the development of a genuine system of responsible Government.

In every province there shall be a bicameral legislature consisting of a council and an assembly. According to the franchise now given 14 per cent of the total population of British India would be enfranchised.

The Federation and the Federal Centre

The federal Government should be in some measure responsible to the federal Legislature, but this responsibility should not extend to all federal subjects. The authority of the federation shall rest in the Governor-General. The authority is to include the supreme command of the Military, naval and air forces in India. The Governor-General shall himself direct and control the administration of the departments of Defence, External affairs and Ecclesiastical affairs. The Governor-General shall have a financial adviser independent of the Ministry.

A story and its moral. One man came from a long distance with a bundle of chaff as his sole possession. He met another man of the locality and had a conversation. The man of the locality being hospitable offered him seat and entertained him. He had a bag of flattened rice with him. When both felt hungry, the man who came from the far off place offered the following terms to the man of the locality. "I do not wish to trouble you for my food. I have brought something with me,a bag of chaff and you have in your possession, a bundle of flattened rice. Let us mix both these, in the same proportion and then divide among ourselves in the proportion of 1 to 3 the latter division being mine as I have come all the way from a far off place and feel much hungry. We shall then remove the chaff and eat the rice". The man of the locality was forced to agree to the offer because he found that the visitor was more formidable than himself.

Moral. Might is right.

Ratha:—Lalitha, why are you so sad?

Lalitha:—Nothing, my dear Radha, nothing. Only my husband's illness causes me some anxiety. It is now ten days he is laid up of Typhoid and Dr. Raghavachari is doing his best and is giving me courage. I think of the three little ones and think of them always. We have not saved enough for the dear ones as yet. I have been asking my husband to insure for at least Rs. 5,000. for the sake of these our Dear Children. Somehow he has been treating my advice with indifference and is very vacillating always. However God is great. He must help us out of this critical situation. I am only praying Him every hour.

Ratha:—Lalitha, my dear, you are always cautious and very dutiful. Do not bother yourself. Your husband will be all right in a few weeks by the grace of God and then we shall persuade him to insure his life at the earliest with **The Indian Mutual Life Association Ltd.,** Triplicane, Madras. No doubt Life Insurance gives one freedom from anxiety, and we must have it.

WORLD DAY BY DAY

INLAND NEWS

Madras Nov. 11.—Mr. S. Satyamoorthi the Congress nominee was elected to the Assembly from the city constituency.

Nov. 12.—Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty the congress nominee was declared elected to the assembly from the commercial constituency of the Madras Presidency.

Lahore Nov. 13.—The newly formed Punjab Congress Socialist party met and passed resolutions condemning the congress programme of council entry and also a resolution condemning the war and declaring that war undertaken to for the benefit of the capitalists should not be supported.

Jubbulpore Nov. 14.—In order to enforce the order of the local government the vice-president of the municipality entered the Secretary's Office and asked him to vacate the office. On his refusal to vacate, he was arrested for trespass and removed from the place.

Bombay Nov. 16.—It is learnt that the health of Mr. M. N. Roy, is worse and he is spitting blood every time he coughs.

Karachi Nov. 17.—A walk out was staged at a meeting of the Karachi corporation by seventeen members when the proposal for celebrating the Kings jubilee came up for discussion.

Jubbalpore Nov. 18.—Mr. Dwaraka Prasad Mishra president of the municipality was removed from the office for disobeying the orders of the local Government.

Nov. 19.—Sixteen members of the Jubbulpore municipality have resigned as a protest against the removal of the president by the government and the city is observing hartal.

Bombay Nov. 20.—The Bombay government's application for enhancing the sentence passed on S. S. Mirajkar former secretary of the workers and peasants party was dismissed by the chief Justice of Bombay.

Calcutta Nov. 21.-The special branch of the Calcutta police arrested three Bengali youths following a house search.

Nov. 22.—The joint parliamentary committee report has been condemned by the leaders of all the parties.

Nov. 23.—Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar Bar-at-law was sentenced to 9 months rigorous imprisonment and Nityananda Choudry to 4 months imprisonment on a charge of sedition.

Nov. 25.—Mr. B. N. Sasmal who was elected to the assembly from the Burdwan division as a nationalist candidate died this morning.

Nov. 27.—The Kidderpore dock labourers strike continues and the strikers exceed 6000 and work is at a stand still.

Nov. 28.—Seven persons arrested in connection with the dock workers strike have been placed before the magistrate on a charge of rioting.

Nov. 29.—In Bengal all the Nationalist candidates have been returned to the assembly defeating the congress candidates.

Barisal Nov. 30.—Nandalal Guptha a Student was convicted to five years R. I. for being in possession of an unlicensed six-chambered revolver and cartridges.

Lahore Dec. 1.-Dr. Satyapal president of the Punjab provincial congress committee was arrested under section 124, A. and was let on bail.

Ahmedabad Dec. 2.—The trial of nine labour leaders commenced to-day. The charge against them is that they are the members of the communist party.

Calcutta Dec. 2.—Mr. Janakinath Bose father of Subash Chandra Bose passed away at the age of 75 following long illness.

Lahore Dec. 3.—The first meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress socialist party was held and it considered the parliamentary work and organisation of the party.

Karachi Dec. 3.—Mr. Subash Chandra Bose arrived in Karachi by the Dutch

air mail. The customs authorities and C.I.D. officials searched his belongings and seized the typed copies of a book titled "the Indian struggle."

Calcutta Dec. 4.—Mr. Subash Chandra Bose arrived here and a restraint order was served on him prohibiting him from coming out of his house.

Ahmedabad Dec. 4.—Mr. Hari Prasad Desai a labour leader was arrested at Bombay and he will be tried along with nine others who are being tried here under sec. 17 (1) and (2) of the criminal law Amendment Act.

Suri Dec. 5.—The police searched the house of Mr. Gopikabilas Sen and the offices of the District Congress committee and arrested one Jatindra Mohan Banerjee a congress worker and Mr. Sachidanandan Chatterji owner of a local press was ordered to quit Suri within 24 hours.

Patna Dec. 5.—The working committee of the Indian National Congress met to-day in the residence of Babu Rajendra Prasad's residence.

Dec. 6.—The Congress Parliamentary Board met to-day and discussed the plan of action in relation to the work in the assembly.

Dec. 8.—Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, called frontier Gandhi was arrested on a charge of sedition at Wardha and taken to Bombay.

Dec. 10.—Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who remanded him to jail custody.

FOREIGN NEWS

Paris Nov. 14.—M. Fladin who formed the cabinet recently secured a vote of confidence in the chamber by 422 to 188.

Madrid Nov. 17.—The Spanish parliament has passed a law by a big majority banning all labour unions and confiscating all the funds of the labour unions.

London Nov. 26.—During the question time in the Parliament Col. Wedgwood requested the liberation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru but the Secretary of State for India said that Nehru was convicted under the ordinary statute and as such he could not intervene with the India government's action.

Washington Nov. 28.—Carl Vinson Chairman of the representatives house said that if Japan denounces the treaty then he would seek Congressional authority for building five ships for every three laid down by Japan and he declared "No grant of naval equality at any price."

Cairo Nov. 30.—King Fuad has signed a decree abrogating the constitution and dissolving the parliament in accordance with the views expressed by Nessim Pasha on his acceptance of the premiership.

Moscow Dec. 1.—It is officially stated that M. Sergi Mironovich Kirov, member of the presidium of the central executive of the union of Socialist Soviet Republic was shot dead by a murdereror sent by the enemies of the working class.

Berlin Dec. 1.—Eighteen persons have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment on a charge of forming a new communist party in order to overthrow the present regime.

Paris Dec 3.—A Franco German agreement in connection with Saar Plebiscite has been concluded.

Moscow Dec. 4.—Some of the Soviet officials have been arrested in connection with the murder of Kirov and they are being examined by the military collegium of the supreme court of the soviet.

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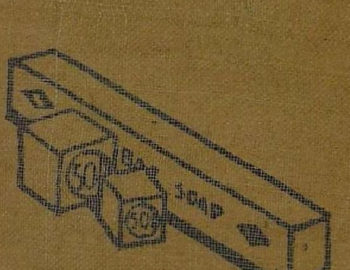

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